

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

61

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S/S -LCJOHNSTONE
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, PA, US

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - REPLIES TO BHUTTO LETTERS
(S/S 7513884)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON; ALSO PASS SAUNDERS

1. IN CONSIDERING NEA'S RECOMMENDATION FOR REPLIES TO
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S LETTERS (S/S 7513884), YOU IN-
DICATED YOU PREFERRED A BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND SUB-
STANTIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR BYROADE. THE FOLLOWING
IS THE TEXT OF A TELEGRAM WE RECOMMEND BE SENT TO
AMBASSADOR BYROADE WHO IS NOW EN ROUTE TO ISLAMABAD
FOLLOWING HIS CONSULTATIONS HERE. THE TEXT INCLUDES (A)
A BRIEF MESSAGE FROM YOU TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
ACKNOWLEDGING HIS LETTERS TO YOU AND THE PRESIDENT, AND
REASSURING HIM OF CONTINUED USG SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S
SECURITY; (B) INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR BYROADE TO
SUPPLEMENT YOUR MESSAGE WITH AN ORAL EXPLANATION OF OUR
POSITION ON THE POINTS BHUTTO HAS RAISED CONCERNING OUR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

COMMITMENTS TO PAKISTAN; AND (C) INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR

BYROADE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH HAVE ARISEN OVER YOUR CONVERSATION WITH AZIZ AHMED IN ANKARA ON MAY 22.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

PLEASE TRANSMIT FOLLOWING REPLY TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S LETTERS OF JUNE 13 TO THE PRESIDENT AND ME (TEXTS OF BHUTTO'S LETTERS TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL):

QUOTE:

THE PRESIDENT AND I WERE PLEASED TO HEAR FROM YOU IN YOUR LETTERS OF JUNE 13 REGARDING YOUR CONCERNS FOR PAKISTAN'S SECURITY. THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE DEEPLY SYMPATHETIC TO YOUR CONCERNS. IT WAS WITH THESE IN MIND THAT THE PRESIDENT ORDERED THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON ARMS SALES TO PAKISTAN LAST FEBRUARY. WE ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP MEET YOUR FOOD AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE REQUIREMENTS IN THE YEAR AHEAD. THIS IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO ASSURE PAKISTAN'S CONTINUED SECURITY AND WELL-BEING. WE HAVE DISCUSSED YOUR LETTERS IN DETAIL AND I HAVE ASKED AMBASSADOR BYROADE TO CONVEY OUR VIEWS TO YOU ON THE POINTS YOU HAVE RAISED. END QUOTE.

3. IN CONVEYING THE ABOVE ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- WE WERE PLEASED TO NOTE THE PRIME MINISTER'S EX-PRESSION OF CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR THE SIMLA PROCESS. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THE WISE POLICIES OF CAUTION AND RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE GOP DURING THIS DELICATE PERIOD OF DIFFICULTIES IN INDIA. SO FAR WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS THAT INDIA SEEKS TO BLAME FOREIGN SOURCES FOR ITS INTERNAL SITUATION. WE WILL OF COURSE BE WATCHING THIS CLOSELY AND WILL WANT TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE GOP. IN THE MEAN-TIME, WE HAVE HAD SOME INDICATIONS FROM THE INDIANS THAT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

THEY HOPE CONTINUED PROGRESS UNDER THE SIMEA PROCESS WILL BE POSSIBLE, AND WE OF COURSE KNOW THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WILL SHARE THAT HOPE.

-- IT IS OUR VIEW THAT CONTINUED PROGRESS UNDER THE SIMLA PROCESS WILL REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES ON THE SUBCONTINENT. THE IMMEDIATE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, AND ONE WHICH WE FULLY SHARE WITH

PAKISTAN, IS TO PREVENT SUCH AN EVENTUALITY FROM OCCURRING. IT WAS WITH THIS OBJECTIVE IN MIND THAT THE SECRETARY CONVEYED TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IN MAY THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES WOULD REGARD AN INDIAN ATTACK

AGAINST PAKISTAN. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THIS QUESTION.

-- DIRECT INVOLVEMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IN A SOUTH ASIAN CONFLICT WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GRAVEST NATURE AND WOULD BE OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES. THE RESPONSE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE A MATTER FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE CONGRESS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE 1959 MUTUAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH PAKISTAN.

-- THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ARE HOPEFUL THAT THEY WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO HOLD TALKS IN PEKING WITH LEADERS OF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA LATER THIS YEAR. THESE TALKS WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE FULL RANGE OF SECURITY ISSUES AFFECTING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES AND PAKISTAN, AND WAYS IN WHICH OUR GOVERNMENTS MIGHT CONTINUE TO ASSIST PAKISTAN IN ITS EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN ITS SECURITY.

-- THE SECRETARY WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE THAT MR. AZIZ AHMED HAS COMMUNICATED TO THE CHINESE OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE EFFECT WHICH THEIR PROPAGANDA HAS ON OUR ABILITY TO MOBILIZE DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR THE PRC'S SECURITY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

-- IN DISCUSSING YOUR LETTERS IN WASHINGTON, I FOUND A DEEP AND CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN'S SECURITY AND WELFARE, AND A STRONG DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL IN WAYS THAT ARE IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR OWN LEGISLATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

-- AS I KNOW YOU ARE AWARE FROM YOUR OWN DISCUSSIONS WITH AMERICAN LEADERS, INCLUDING SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ABLE TO UNDERTAKE ADDITIONAL SECURITY COMMITMENTS, OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR FORMAL TREATIES AND EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS.

4. IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS ABOVE, YOU SHOULD SEEK TO CORRECT THE DIFFERENCES WHICH EXIST BETWEEN WHAT I SAID TO AZIZ AHMED IN ANKARA ON MAY 22

AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THESE REMARKS CONTAINED IN BHUTTO'S LETTERS OF JUNE 13. THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE MADE SO THAT THE RECORD WILL BE CLEAR:

-- DURING MY WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS, I REVIEWED THE MINUTES OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN MINISTER AZIZ AHMED

AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. OUR RECORD CONTAINS SOME IMPORTANT NUANCES WHICH, IF NOT PRECISELY GRASPED, COULD LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH WE BOTH WANT TO AVOID.

-- THE SECRETARY INFORMED AZIZ AHMED HE HAS TOLD THE SOVIETS THAT "WE WOULD HOLD THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE USE MADE OF THEIR EQUIPMENT ANYWHERE, BUT ESPECIALLY IN PAKISTAN." HE SUBSEQUENTLY SAID: "MY POINT WAS NOT TO TELL HIM TO USE NON-SOVIET EQUIPMENT. IT WAS TO TELL HIM THEY WOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE."

(BHUTTO'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT STATES: "DR. KISSINGER INFORMED MR. AHMED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO... GROMYKO IN VERY STRONG TERMS TO THE EFFECT THAT AN INDIAN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN WITH SOVIET EQUIPMENT WOULD INVITE A RESPONSE FROM THE UNITED STATES.")

-- THE SECRETARY ASKED AZIZ AHMED: "DO YOU MIND IF WE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

PUT THIS SAME QUESTION TO THE CHINESE?" THE CONTEXT INDICATES THAT THE SECRETARY WAS REFERRING BACK TO AZIZ AHMED'S EARLIER COMMENT THAT THE CHINESE HAD BEEN ASKED BY PAKISTAN WHAT THEIR RESPONSE WOULD BE IF PAKISTAN IS ATTACKED.

-- SUBSEQUENTLY, THE SECRETARY SAID: "IF THE SOVIETS ATTACK THEM (THE CHINESE) AFTER AN INDIAN ATTACK ON YOU, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO SOMETHING. IN OUR PRESENT SITUATION, UNTIL THERE IS A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, WE COULDN'T USE FORCE OURSELVES. BUT WE WOULD CERTAINLY URGE THE SHAH TO HELP. IF THERE IS AN INDIAN ATTACK ON YOU, AND THEN CHINA TRIES TO GIVE ASSISTANCE AND THE SOVIETS ATTACK THEM, I DON'T SEE HOW WE COULD AVOID DOING SOMETHING. IT WOULD LOOK LIKE A MASSIVE ATTACK ON THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF ASIA."

(BHUTTO'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY STATES: "...I WAS RELIEVED TO HEAR FROM MR. AZIZ AHMED...WHAT YOU PLANNED TO TELL THE CHINESE ABOUT THE ACTION THE UNITED STATES WOULD TAKE IF THE SOVIET UNION ATTACKED CHINA FOR COMING TO PAKISTAN'S ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF AN INDIAN

ATTACK ON PAKISTAN." BHUTTO'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT
STATES: "DR. KISSINGER...ADDED THAT, IF CHINA POSED THE
COUNTERQUESTION AS TO WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD DO IN
SUCH AN EVENT (AN INDIAN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN), IT WOULD BE
INFORMED THAT IF INDIA ATTACKED PAKISTAN AND CHINA CAME TO
ITS HELP AND IF IN CONSEQUENCE THE SOVIET UNION ATTACKED
CHINA, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO STAY OUT OF

OF THAT SITUATION.") END TEXT.

5. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE TEXT FOR
TRANSMISSION BY THE DEPARTMENT TO AMB. BYROADE.

APPROVE..... DISAPPROVE.....

END TEXT.

S/S NOTE: THIS REVISES EARLIER VERSION (SAME S/S NO.)
WITH PARTY. INGERSOLL

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 183099 TOSEC 080323

SECRET

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